1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, from one old *tuhuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of appreciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*, for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tuhuna*. Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently, guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352]
sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753]
do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/11 cont./ take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks. 844 [178]

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of leaves of ka ka'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This preparation is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a large number of astringents for a variety of purposes. 846 757 [824] [824]

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the husband and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are positively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom, still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the 1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not completely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again, as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or so after birth. 846 757 178 [833] [842]

The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste (ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it. This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes 846 [826] [757]

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) is recommended. 846 757

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" (mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption. [753] [824]

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth. [824]

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple. 844 [412] 853 [178]

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [416]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

[1][i.e., the child's aunts.--Analyst]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178] ●

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them.

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however.

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained.

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house,

/47 cont./
sexual play with the girl, caressing or kissing her breasts, while she is having intercourse with another. Intercourse is quite rapid, and sometimes accompanied by rhythmical muffled cries by the girl. After intercourse, the girl usually wipes her vulva with a piece of her ka'e'u, wrap-around skirt, and immediately receives the next male. A thorough washing of the genitalia is performed only after all the males have been served to their satisfaction. The usual post-orgasm wash for the girl /48/ is abandoned because it is believed that the repeated washing, by suppressing all vaginal lubricatory fluids, will cause extreme discomfort to both parties. Serial intercourse is quite common, apparently not greatly diminishing in frequency since contact times. Numerous occurrences were reported during our stay, usually involving 5 or 6 males. One outstanding example, still the talk of Nuku Hiva, is the case of a girl who served in a few hours the complete roster of two football squads, numbering 40 men, in Taiohae during a gathering for the archipelago soccer play-offs. This was believed by all to be an extreme case; even the girl herself acknowledged that she had overstepped her abilities, suffering a pelvic injury as a result.

833
836

[178] ●

Individual intercourse among the promiscuous girls resembles that practiced among older married adults, as has been noted above. There is an air of relaxation about a relationship of this type, as the fear of apprehension by an outraged parent is eliminated and therefore the need for quick completion of the act is eliminated. Most often these meetings occur in the houses or shelters maintained by one of the group of girls, or in any of a number of unoccupied houses found throughout the valleys. There is an increase in foreplay and complete nudity by both parties is usual. There is an effort on the girl's part to present a pleasing appearance in the nude. If clothing is used by the girl, it is generally a ka'eu wrap-around to cover the pelvis, and is only used when going to wash or urinate.

/49/ There is generally complete permissiveness about oral stimulation of the genitalia, extending to stimulation

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/62 cont./ The 586
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, 197
however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving 997
the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648]
preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595
ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183]
realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [966]
relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in [178]
the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554
much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837
It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lender of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power)
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not downright Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentration on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Appellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other white ethnic groups.

/97 cont./
relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom.

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body.

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of

/98 cont./ 178 ●
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over 797
into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the 834
present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies [291]
to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192]
pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178
begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the 864
aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175
sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648
had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864
p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548]
interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./ 175
heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 698
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 864
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported.
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's. [114] [648] [797] [304]

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia. 584 834 182 [171]

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times. 883 178 [833] [342]

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual 571 831 178

/103 cont./ 578 831 178

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does [548] not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by 183 831 797 the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the [554] upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of [182] protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous 831 girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very 175 sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial 183 intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also [833] preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/106 cont./ 462
tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/

[388] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources.

114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

178 833 [648] [684]

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

178 585 [583] [584] [554] [556]

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

178 595 [648] [797] [628] [728] [584] [622]

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

/119 cont./

182
121

behavior which has been under the most severe attack by mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on.

182
831

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt.

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

178 ●
831

Changes are occurring now, especially among those presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here.